A REVIEW OF THE STATE OF THE ENGLISH NATION.

Thursday, January 23. 1706.

I Offer'd my Calculations in the laſt *Review* about Addreſſes in *Scotland*, and I think, I have ſtated the Account ſo right, that no body will for the future advance theſe Sorts of Generals, That all the Kingdom is againſt the Union.

I could enlarge here on a Particular, which would diſcover another kind of dealing, that every Body is not acquainted with; and that is, who the ſeveral Pariſhes, Burghs, Presbyteries and Counties have been acted by, that have been drawn in to theſe Addreſſes, and by what Methods they have been influenced.

This would diſcover ſuch a Fund of Villany, ſuch black Doings, ſuch a Circulation of Forgeries, wheedling Arts, and unaccountable Attempts, the Work of Hell by the Agency of Jacobitiſm and Party Malice, that is too long for this Place, and muſt be reſerv'd for the larger Relation of theſe things; in which I ſhall endeavour to be both very plain and particular.

I ſhall however make a ſhort Attempt here on the general Doctrine of Addreſſes, as I have done my ſelf the Honour to apply it in *Scotland*, and which I hope can be uſeleſs no where; and the great Queſtion, I take upon me here, is,

What is the Obligation of Parliaments to the Addreſſes or Petitions of the People, and what the Duty or Part of the Perſons addreſſing?

I have ſtood ſtill, and ſeen the Parliament of *Scotland* throng'd with Addreſſes or Petitions, and ſome of them in an unuſual Stile; a Stile Parliaments in other Kingdoms reſent with more Severity a great deal; I have

have seen Authority insulted, Her Majesty in the Person of her Representative very ill treated, and all past over with Lenity and Gentleness——To this I have thought my self oblig'd to say nothing, as not in my Sphere; His Grace the High-Commissioner and the Parliament know how to resent, and when; and 'tis not my Business to presume to direct.

But after all this, I cannot but take Notice of the Dialect of some People there, which to me is very strange, who have been talking very confidently of going to ask the Parliament for an Answer to their Addresses——This in *English* I take to be equivalent to calling the Parliament to account; and some Gentlemen have as good as call'd it so.

Indeed their Resolution has not been equal to their Project, and they have not yet thought fit to put their Schemes in Practice: But I thought it necessary, for the Information of those who pretend to justifie such a Method, to examine a little the Nature, Right and Obligation of addressing or petitioning our Superiours, and state the Point of Duty between both Addressers, and the Persons addressed.

As this is a nicer Point than ordinary, and he that writes upon it, may easily be mis-understood; so I desire a little to explain my self, before I descend to the Particulars.

And *First*, I desire to note, that I shall not distinguish in this Discourse between Addressing and Petitioning; not but that there are essential Differences between them, and which used to be observ'd by the People: Petitioning being applied to Requests only, and Addresses to every thing, congratulating or otherwise summary in representing the Subject, it is upon.

But Custom has now brought these things together, the Address is call'd a Petition, and the Petition an Address; and as the Age makes no Distinction, neither do I; and therefore I desire thro' this Paper to be understood promiscuously of both.

Secondly, I note here, that I shall in no wise dispute, whether it be lawful upon all Occasions for the People to address or petition the Parliament.

I shall take it for granted, and agree with any Body in this, *That it is the undoubted Right of the People of any free Nation, but particularly of the three Kingdoms of* England, Scotland *and* Ireland, *to present their Grievances to their respective Authorities, be it King, or Parliament, or both, and to do it by Petition, Address, or any other way within the limited Prescription of the Law.*

When these things by way of Note are first granted, I know nothing more in the way of my Discourse, but to come directly to the Subject of petitioning or addressing of Parliaments; and in this 'tis necessary to consider,

1. *The Nature* of Petitioning or Addressing.
2. *The Manner* of Presenting.
3. The Duty of the Persons Addressed to.
4. The Duty of the Persons Addressing.

All which shall be largely, *and I hope fully*, spoken to in the subsequent Papers.

MISCELLANEA.

OUR laſt open'd the whole Arcana of *Jacobite* Principles, and the Ground of all the Appearance, that Party has made in *Scotland* in Behalf of the Kirk.

French Union, and *James* VIII. is the Burthen of the Song, the Center towards which all theſe things move, and the opening this Scene will bring a great many uſeful things to Light; ſuch as theſe,

1. That 'tis not the Kirk of *Scotland* as ſuch, that oppoſes the Union; but the Spirit of Jacobitiſm and Popery impoſing upon them.

2. That the honeſt, tho' ignorant People, who are impos'd upon and deluded at firſt, may unwarily be drawn in to join their Oppoſition to the Union; but as ſoon as the Devil, throwing off the painted Garment, diſcovers the Hypocriſie, they will ſtart at his Cloven Foot, and quit both his Project and his Intereſt together.

3. That ſuch of the poor People, who have been acted by this evil Spirit, will be the moſt zealous to deſtroy the Hopes of *French* Power and *French* Popery, when it comes to ſhow its Face.

But to go on with the Dialogue, the *Jacobite* offers *French* Power, and *James* VIII. the one as an Ally, no more dangerous than Prelacy; the other to be educated a Proteſtant.

Preſ. Look you, Sir, as to Prelacy and Popery, I deſire not to have it put to my Choice, which I muſt ſubmit to, or to be plain, I deſire not to be put to the Neceſſity of chooſing one of them; but if I were, the Word *French* would determine me; I had rather have *Engliſh* Prelacy, than *French* Prelacy, or *Engliſh* Popery than *French* Popery; and the Reaſon is plain, with the *French*, civil Tyranny will come hand in hand with the other; but civil Liberty is eſtabliſh'd in *England*, let what Part of Religion ſoever prevail; and therefore were the Church but ſecure, I would be for uniting with *England*, and for your *James* VIII. I do not concern my ſelf about him at all.

Jac. What, not tho' he was a Proteſtant?

Preſ. No not at all! his Father carry'd him from the Crown, and abdicated for himſelf and his whole Race.

Jac. What is that to him, will you puniſh him for his Fathers Tranſgreſſion?

Preſ. No, we do not puniſh him, but he ſuffers loſs in the Conſequence of his Fathers Diſaſter; as if my Father ſpends my Inheritance, I ſhall be a Beggar of Courſe; or if my Father was a Mahometan, I ſhall be an Infidel of Courſe, and yet GOD does not puniſh me for my Fathers Tranſgreſſion; 'tis all very juſt, Sir, and very equal.

Jac. I think, 'tis very cruel however to reject him, if he is willing to turn Proteſtant, and run abroad to Strangers.

Preſ. The Crown and Succeſſion depend upon Parliamentary Limitations; *England* has ſettled it in eſpecial Regard to Liberty and the Proteſtant Religion; and could we have Security for our Religion, and a Treaty, I ſhould be for readily uniting; but I do not love this incorporating Union. I confeſs.

Jac. Well, your only Way is to oppoſe it by Force, for they will precipitate the Execution of it elſe.

Preſ. And you will join with us, will you?

Jac. Ay, with all our whole Strength.

Preſ. And will you capitulate with us to eſtabliſh the Proteſtant Religion, Presbytery and Church-Government?

Jac. Let us deſtroy this Union, and raiſe the Parliament firſt, and we'll eaſily agree afterwards ſo as to pleaſe all Parties.

Preſ. Behind me *Satan!* Now I have found it all out, no Sir, I have done; I hear, ſome fooliſh People from *Glaſgow* are march'd to the Place of Rendezvous, and we were preparing to meet them, and have receiv'd circular Letters from them for that Purpoſe——But Sir, 'tis all over, I ſee the Drift; 'tis all Jacobitiſm, Popery, Prelacy and Tyranny, and I have done Sir, and all my Friends; my Word for it, Sir, you get not a *Cameronian* in all *Scotland* to ſide with you

you on that Foot; I should be glad to have Security for the Kirk on good and safe Foundations, but not at that Price, Sir, by no means, 'tis too dear a great deal.

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